41: Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

the Nupe have nothing of the sort, their art is imageless, they have but crude wall paintings, and their strength lies in ornamental, decorative art. Also the Yoruba have a strong sense for pantomime and drama, for which again there is no parallel among the Nupe.

IV. The story experiment

The story was read to the students at 8 a.m., i.e. during their first class. At noon they were asked to relate the story for the first time (each boy by himself) and after one week for the second time. Each time the leader of the experiment wrote down the story as it was told. The story (in free translation) runs as follows:

> Long, long ago there were a man and his wife. They had two children, sons. When these sons had grown up, they saw a beautiful girl. They both made friends with her, and loved her very much. They loved her with one heart. But the girl did not love the elder brother, she only loved the younger. Thereupon the elder brother went to the younger and told him to give up the girl. He said: "I am the one to marry the girl for I am your elder brother." Thus he spoke. But the younger refused. They quarrelled a great deal till the elder brother became furious. When the night fell he went to the hut where the younger brother was sleeping and killed him with his sword, he killed him with one stroke. When the people heard the news they said: "He did an evil deed, God will revenge it." But the girl cried, she cried for twenty days and her heart was full of pain. When she had finished crying she left and went to another place. Nobody saw her again.

The responses which the contents and structure of the story evoke in the experimental subjects can be analysed under four or five different headings: There are points in the story which stress emotional reaction; points which bear on moral ideas; and points which appeal more specifically to reasoning, i.e. crucial points in the logical progress of the narrative. The text also contains certain set phrases and formulae; and, finally, a number of situational or circumstantial details. Obviously, these different categories in which the features of the narrative can be grouped must overlap to a certain extent. But it is just this overlapping, the application of different and even divergent aspects of interpretation to the same features, which will reveal to us most strikingly the different psychological attitudes with which the two groups approach the data presented in the narrative.

(1) *Set phrases and formulae*

The beginning and the end of the narrative, and one or two other phrases, represent more or less fixed formulae typical of all such stories. These phrases were in most cases repeated literally, both by Nupe and

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

Y
N
153
171
195

Yoruba. In the reproduction of one formula-like phrase, however, we grasp a first striking difference between the two groups. The phrase in question is the sentence '"God will revenge it"', spoken in the story by the people when they learn of the crime. This set phrase, which is commonly used in a context of this kind, is repeated verbally by 10 Nupe (13 in the second recall); 6 (3) Nupe leave it out altogether; and 4 (4) substitute another sentence of the same meaning. Among the Yoruba 5 (5) quote literally; 3 (1) leave it out; and 12 (14) substitute another sentence. Yet the new sentence which the Yoruba substitute does not merely reproduce, with different words, the same meaning. In 5 (10) Yoruba reproductions the changed phrase introduces an altogether new element, namely a rational explanation of the expression '"God will revenge it"', uttered under these particular circumstances. Thus (Y 8), in the first recall, lets the people speak as follows: "The elder brother has done wrong; we cannot revenge it, God will revenge it." In the second recall this reasoning is more cogent still: "The people said: 'They should not do anything about it; God will punish him.'" Or (Y 12): "They said, 'One should leave the elder brother alone. God will judge him.'" Or (Y 15): "His sin is very grave; no one but God can judge him." Only two Nupe in the second recall (none in the first) felt it necessary to supply this additional rational link which turns a stereotyped phrase, quoted almost automatically, into a logically sound judgment.

(2) *Rational aspects*

In the stress which is laid upon such rational links and logical elements lies in fact the most fundamental difference between the Nupe and Yoruba version of the narrative. A characteristic example is the reproduction of the third sentence of the story ("when these sons had grown up"), a 'crucial' sentence in so far as it supplies an essential rational link in the narrative; obviously the brothers must have grown into men before they could have had their love affair. Now among the Nupe only 3 mentioned this fact in the first, and 4 in the second recall. The corresponding figures among the Yoruba are 17 and 18. But even the most salient and most essential points in the story, the preference of the girl for the younger brother and his refusal to renounce his claims, points which are missing in none of the Yoruba reproductions, are neglected by the Nupe: 9 Nupe in the first and 5 in the second recall leave out one or the other of these facts on which the whole development of the story depends. Similarly, the quarrel between the two brothers which supplies the motive for the murder is mentioned by (3) Nupe only as against 12 (14) Yoruba.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62, Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

Y
N
153
171

But, as we have seen already, the Yoruba do more than merely observe the existing rational connexions in the story. They introduce new ones, or try to render existing connexions more striking. For instance, towards the end of the story there is the sentence "when the girl had finished crying, she left the town". Among the Nupe 19 (16) reproductions include a sentence the meaning of which closely corresponds to the original; among the Yoruba 2 only kept to this rather weak connecting link; 7 (8) placed the two sentences simply side by side: "she wept for twenty days, and then she ran away"; and 10 (9) turned the connexion into a sentence such as this: "when she thought of all this sadness that existed in this matter, she left the town." Now the most interesting fact is that this sentence is a typical expression of Nupe 'mentality'. When I first composed the story I had placed the two sentences side by side: "the girl cried for twenty days. Then she left the town." But my two Nupe informants, with whom I worked out the text, objected to this expression, and insisted on bringing in the sentence "when she had finished crying". This sentence was then simply taken over into the Yoruba text. But in the experiments most of the Yoruba rejected it as we saw, left it out or, more characteristically, reformulated it, thus strengthening the logical cohesion of the story.

One could try to establish statistically this difference with respect to the stress laid on elements of reasoning. Contained in the story are four sentences which represent specifically rational or logical links. Every rational link which appears in the reproductions, both an original rational link which was already contained in the story and any new, additional 'rationalization', is scored as [illegible]. The means for the 20 experimental subjects then amount, among the Nupe, to 2·3 (2·4), and among the Yoruba to 5·5 (6.0), i.e. the Yoruba figure is more than twice the Nupe figure, and considerably above the theoretical value of 4.

(3) *Situational aspects*

N
153
195

The retelling of the Nupe, although neglectful of the rational connexions embodied in the text, does itself introduce certain new, additional links and connexions. These links stress situational, circumstantial facts, details of place and time, which are of little importance for the logical progress of the story. They may amount only to irrelevant remarks, filled in between sentences, such as "this went on for some time", or "thus they lived", etc. Or they may completely replace the logical connexion, as in the version of (N 7) who, leaving out the quarrel of the two brothers, jumps from the statement about the girl's preference for the

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

younger brother to the scene of the murder, by simply stating: "one day, at night, the elder went to the sleeping hut of the younger...."

In other cases, however, the situational and temporal details tend to build up a vivid, concrete picture of the happenings in the story. Thus, for example, 4 Nupe (6 in the second recall) mention that the brothers were 'travelling about' when they saw the girl; 3 (5) let the brothers meet the girl 'in town'; (N 25) adds the information that the brothers 'afterwards returned home'. And after describing the murder 3 (6) Nupe continue the story as follows: "On the morrow", or "when it became day, the people heard of the crime." Yet these connexions never strengthen the cohesion of the narrative as such. On the contrary, one gains the impression that the story dissolves itself into a number of different scenes and situations.

This difference between the tense, logically convincing way in which the Yoruba reproduce the story, and the loosely knit Nupe way of retelling which is concerned more with details of situation and temporal sequence, becomes most evident in connexion with the 'situational' item in the story, that the murder was done 'at night'. Among the Nupe this is in itself an important feature which is given a prominent place in the reproduction. Thus:

(N 54) The younger brother refused to leave the girl. The elder left the matter then. Till one day, at night,....

(N 60) The younger brother said: "No." Then it became night. The younger brother slept in his hut. The elder took his sword, and killed him on that night.

But among the Yoruba the reference to the night is clearly a minor detail which is pushed into a relative sentence and is quite overshadowed by the really relevant fact, which is the connexion between the anger of the elder brother and the murder.

(Y 6) The two brothers quarrelled terribly. The elder pulled out his sword and went to kill the younger brother where he slept.

(Y 9) The brothers quarrelled, and when night came the elder took his sword. He went and cut off the head of the younger brother because he had spoiled his heart.

(Y 15) They quarrelled about the girl. So much that at night the elder took his sword, went to the place where the younger slept and attacked him with his sword till he killed him.

(4) *Emotional and moral aspects*

In this experiment, rather surprisingly, the emotional factor seems to go hand in hand with the reasoning factor. Emotional and rational aspects do not seem to represent divergent or even independent principles; the more 'rational' Yoruba stress at the same time emotional reaction; and

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

Y
N
152
577
171

(Y 12) It surprised the people (to hear) what the elder brother had done. They said, "one should leave him alone, God will punish him."

(Y 18) When the people learned of the deed, it pained them very much. They said: "God will revenge it."

Second recall:

(Y 1) The people judged the elder guilty and evil; but God would punish him.

(Y 2) and (Y 5) The people were very sorry for the boy, but (they said): "Our Lord God will punish him."

(Y 12) The people said: "The elder should have left the younger alone. God will punish him."

To the Nupe then, the unspecific and abstract reference to the wickedness of the deed seems natural and satisfactory. The vague, schematic connexion which the story establishes between the wrong deed and the supernatural punishment, seems to satisfy their attitude towards moral value. The Yoruba, on the other hand, feel the urge to define the nature of the evil deed more closely and more explicitly. They weigh specific deed against specific punishment. Their attitude to the moral judgment is the same as to all the other features of the story: rational, and intent on clear logical connexions.

(5) *Arrangement and order*

Y
N●
153●
171

It is interesting to study the question of the order in which the events of the story are related and remembered. In the first recall the Nupe frequently (in 11 cases) rearrange this order, but only 2 Yoruba do the same. The explanation, however, cannot be that the precise, logically coherent narrative keeps more closely to the original story, for in the second recall the figures for the rearrangement of order are equal in both groups: i.e. the Nupe figures rise by 5, to 16, and the Yoruba figures by 14, from 2 to 16. Evidently, Yoruba recall, relying more on logical connexion, is apt to abandon the external form, whereas the loose, devious way of Nupe retelling which in the second recall is not much more free than in the first, may be more tied to the external order of events as to the only framework establishing coherence.

Before I pass to the picture experiments I will quote two full stories, one from the Nupe and one from the Yoruba, to illustrate the fundamentally different attitudes with which the two groups approach their task:[1]

(N 11) Long ago, there lived a young man. He had a brother. They were elder and younger brother. They lived, they lived, till they saw a young girl. The girl was very beautiful, they loved her with one heart, both the elder and younger brother loved her.

[1] Other full quotations of the story will be found in *Africa*.

41: Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

Y
N
153
171

One day the elder said to the younger he should give the girl up, "because I am the elder". The younger brother said he would not give her up. Although the other was the elder he would not give her up. But the elder brother left the matter then, till night fell, then he went to the hut where the younger brother slept and killed him with a sword. When the girl saw this she cried for twenty days and her heart ached. The people who heard this said, what he had done was bad, God will revenge it. When the girl had finished crying she went to another place, nobody saw her again.

(Y 13) Long ago, there lived a man who had a wife. They had two children, sons. When they grew up they saw a girl who was very beautiful. They loved her, but the girl loved the younger more than the elder. When the elder brother realized this he said to the younger: "You must give up the girl, for I am your elder brother and I ought to marry her." When he said this the younger refused and they quarrelled so much that the elder brother took his sword, went to the younger, attacked him with his sword and killed him. When all the people heard this they said: "An evil deed has been done by the elder brother." They said: "Nobody should touch him, for God will judge." The girl cried for twenty days. Her sadness was so great that she left the town, and nobody saw her again.

V. The picture experiments

Y
N
125

I showed six pictures of different topics which varied in complication and distinctness. Each picture was exposed for about 10–15 sec. The experimental subjects were asked first to write down (in vernacular) what they had seen, after every picture. After a week's time they were asked to relate what they remembered, and this was written down by the leader of the experiment. The photographs represented:

(1) Two leopards in the bush.

(2) A black horse with a native groom in European garb, in an open field.

(3) A native in Mohammedan dress (which is common everywhere in Northern Nigeria), sitting on a table on which stands a native clay lamp.

(4) An oasis in the desert, showing a camel in front of a date-palm and two Arabs. (This was a rather dark and indistinct picture.)

(5) A mosque with a huge crowd of people in front. (A clear but somewhat complicated picture.)

(6) A bush fire (dark, very indistinct, in some respects corresponding to the familiar 'ink-blot' picture).

(1) *The background of experience*

Y
N
151
153
171

A first difference in the reaction of the two groups is due to the fact that in the description or interpretation of certain features in the pictures the different background of knowledge and practical experience characteristic of each group comes into play. Although the general cultural background of the two groups is the same, there exist naturally certain specific details of culture which are different in the two groups, and which to a certain extent enter into the description of the pictures. Thus quite a number of Yoruba called the clay lamp in the third picture a 'pump'. This

41: Nadel P, E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

rather surprising interpretation became clear in the explanation which one Yoruba gave; he described the object as a "clay lamp with a handle like the pump at the railway station". Ilorin, where the Yoruba experiments were made, is on the railway; the place where the Nupe experiments were made is not, and this explains why this particular interpretation occurred only among one group. Among the Nupe we have, instead of the 'pump', a 'bicycle wheel', or the 'handle of a motor-car'. Both Nupe and Yoruba seem to derive satisfaction from bringing in these very special, and up-to-date *motifs* of interpretation. The *motifs* contributed by this specialized knowledge tend, however, to disappear in the second recall and to be replaced by an interpretation of a more general character. For instance, there were 6 'pumps' in the first description but only 3 in the recall: one 'pump' was replaced by the ordinary 'clay lamp', one was left out altogether, and one reappeared in the following disguise: "a man kneels down (obviously for prayer) under a tree which bends down like the arm of a water-pump."

But the real, psychologically relevant, difference between the two groups does not lie in the different material or content of experience which is utilized in the description, but in the different psychological organization of this material. Among the Yoruba, to start with, the details contributed by special knowledge serve as centres for an interpretation which endeavours to lend a unitary and consistent *meaning* to the whole picture. A few examples will explain what I mean.

(Y 3) An old man wearing turban and white gown, kneeling near something that looks like a pump which has a hole and is bent. The man is repairing the bottom of the pump.

(Y 6) A blind man, wearing a turban and big white gown, pumps water from a fountain in order to drink it.

In the recall we may find a more or less complete reinterpretation: the first example brings the tree which looks like a pump, and the second gains completely new shape:

(Y 6) A Mohammedan teacher, wearing white turban, sits and lights a lamp in front of him, he places it on his right-hand side (obviously in order to read).

We see that, although there are changes from description to recall, the factor of consistent meaning still determines the interpretation. Now among the Nupe there is surprisingly little of such attempts to read a meaning into the picture.

(N 2) A man is kneeling, he wears a beautiful white turban, his eyes are closed. There is something in front of him which looks like the handle of a motor-car.

(N 12) There is an old man who has only one eye. He is sitting and doing something with a bicycle wheel.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

N 151 153 Certain attempts at a consistent, unitary meaning, do exist also among the Nupe. For instance:

(N 3) A man with a waterjug, he is holding it and making his ablutions in a hut.
(N 10) A man with a white turban is sitting, his forehead bent, worshipping an idol.

But these meaning-oriented interpretations are (1) in the minority; (2) the consistency is not established really fully and satisfactorily: e.g. the 'man in turban' would be a Mohammedan; still he is said to worship an idol; (3) the meaning evaporates in the recall. Here are the reproductions of the two meaning-oriented Nupe descriptions which I have just quoted:

(N 3) A man sitting in a beautiful room, with a big water-jug, he is crouching.
(N 10) A man with white turban is sitting, he is crouching, he is watching something in front of him which looks like a motor-part.

(2) *Imagination*

N Y 151 153 171 From the examples quoted above it will be seen that the positive or negative part which the meaning factor plays is not correlated with predominance or lack of imaginary addition. Quantitatively, the contribution of imagination is the same in either group. The difference lies again in the part which imaginary details or additions play in the organization of the material. Among the Nupe they just constitute additional items and there is no tendency to weld all the details into a unitary interpretation. Thus, in the picture of the horse and the groom:

(N 13) There is a European horse standing together with a European near a small hill (!)[1] A few men stand behind the European (!), they look like soldiers and are coming towards him.

Among the Yoruba such mere addition is the exception. The rule is represented in the following example:

(Y 13) A horse near a river (!). It looks as if it is going to be washed. It has a bridle in its mouth, and the man who brings it to the river stands with the horse, he does not hold it but only looks at the horse.

In the recall the orientation towards meaning is intensified by introducing still another imaginary detail:

(Y 13) A man taking a horse to the stream. He stands there trying to pull the horse by the rope (!), but the horse does not move away from the stream. The man is watching the horse.

(3) *Meaning-oriented response*

The essential difference in the psychological responses of the two

[1] Exclamation marks indicate imaginary additions.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

groups lies then in this: the Yoruba are meaning-oriented; they weave into most of their descriptions and recalls a unitary meaning; the Nupe tend to present the facts which they notice or remember in a purely enumerative manner. Now, *meaning* is, generally speaking, a recognition of relation, more particularly of a relation bearing on purpose and causality. In the picture of the horse, for example, only 6 Nupe descriptions and 3 recalls (against 15 Yoruba) attempt to establish the simplest relation on which a unitary meaning could be based, namely a relation which accounts for the presence of the two figures in the picture, the horse and the man; i.e. describes them as a horse and its master, or a horse and its groom, etc. Or, in the picture of the two leopards: 10 Yoruba read a meaning into the picture, i.e., place the data in an explanatory relational context, and describe the two animals as waiting for their prey, as playing together, or as cohabiting. Only 2 Nupe descriptions (1 recall) try a similar solution.

Cognition of meaning and relation in this sense may, however, refer not only to figures and events presented in the picture, but to the picture itself *qua* picture. Some of the Yoruba approach their task in this fashion, and attempt to relate the picture as an item in itself to other facts of knowledge and experience. They try, for example, to explain the fact that such and such a picture had been shown; they understand the picture in the sense of their school-book illustrations, i.e. as an invitation to relate, in the manner of a school examination, everything they know about one or the other item illustrated in the picture. Thus in the picture of the horse and groom:

(Y 9) The horse is an animal that lives with us people. We supply it with grass for food, and we ride it for pleasure or something else. We use it as a pack animal, and also for farming. We harness it.

In other cases, the Yoruba seem to be struck by certain peculiar features in the composition of the picture, and try to explain them, by quite an elaborate process of reasoning, as a result of the formal arrangement:

(Y 20) There is a camel with big loads on his back. He stands near a palm-tree. If one does not look carefully one may think he has no head. But he has one. He lifts his head up to the palm, so that the head is level with the palm-tree. That is the reason why we see only the palm-tree. There is a man close to his hind-leg, he is squatting, and there is a man standing in front. These men are men from the East, because you can see they cover their heads with a cloth.

This attitude of explaining and reasoning which deals with the picture as an object in its own right is completely absent among the Nupe.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

(4) *Exactness*

The examples will have revealed already that the cognition of meaning does not correspond in any way to exactness of perception or memory in the sense of fidelity to the original. Among the Yoruba the proportion of meaning-oriented interpretations increases from description to recall, among the Nupe it decreases. That means the recall emphasizes still further the type of interpretation manifest in the description. But the main point here is that imaginary additions also increase and decrease in the same proportion. The recall of the Yoruba is therefore, from this point of view, less exact than the recall of the Nupe. The enumerative type of perception and memory on the other hand is less exact in other ways. The Nupe frequently confuse the pictures in their memory and reproduce in the recall descriptions in which the features of two pictures appear combined. This combination is never an improvement from the point of view of consistency of meaning. There is no evidence for this fusion of memory pictures among the Yoruba. The Nupe also forget pictures completely much more frequently than the Yoruba. The first picture was left out by 1 Yoruba and 4 Nupe, the second by 1 Nupe only, the third by 2 Nupe only, the fourth by 1 Yoruba and 7 Nupe, the fifth by none in either group, the sixth by 1 Yoruba and 2 Nupe. The most interesting figure is the one referring to the fourth picture (the oasis) in which Nupe 'forgetfulness' reaches its maximum. For both groups, however, this picture represents a maximum also of meaning-oriented interpretation. This, I think, stresses an important point with respect to the evaluation of these results. It shows that we cannot simply say that meaning-oriented interpretation assists, or lessens, memory. For the meaning-oriented type of memory, meaning-oriented organization of the psychological material assists memory; for the enumerative type, into which it does not fit, meaning-oriented organization of the psychological material constitutes an obstacle to remembering. In short, the situation proves the impossibility of any simple comparative evaluation of the two types of psychological response in accordance with a common scale of exactness and, accordingly, of intellectual efficiency.

(5) *Enumerative response*

What I called the 'enumerative' response type does not, however, represent a reaction devoid of all unitary organization or integration. It is enumerative only with respect to the meaning read into, or found in, the contents of the pictures. But there exist other aspects of organization

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

N
Y
153
171

in Nupe description and recall, which are absent, or nearly absent, among the Yoruba. I have found 3 such principles of organization: (1) The Nupe arrange their material very frequently in a spatial order, working with such descriptive categories as top and bottom, left and right, front and back. This emphasis on the spatial arrangement of the perceptual material seems to correspond to the stress on situational and temporal arrangement which we found prominent in the Nupe reproductions of the narrative. (2) There is the tendency to an integration or consistency in the material of a structural, formal character, such as consistency embodied in symmetric proportion. Imagination is engaged in the service of this specific form of integration, and we find, for example, in the picture of the two leopards that two trees are invented to match the two animals; or we find descriptions such as these:

(N 23) Two cats, white and red, one big, one small, close to two trees.

(N 7) A very beautiful horse, with two men, one standing in front and one standing at the back.

(3) Finally, there is an organizing principle, again working for some form of unification, which can be best described as unity of impression or of emotional tone. The following examples, which illustrate this attitude, refer to the third and fifth picture:

(N 6) A man, he is huge, he wears a big gown, he is an important man.

(N 7) An ugly man, wearing clothes which are not nice looking, holding something in his hand that looks like a snake.

(N 4) This (picture) looks as if one were sowing in all directions, like the sowing of European flowers of reddish colour; that is to say they are not quite red, they are between red and white, there are small ones and thick ones, some are not big, some are on the top and some stand out, enormously big.

This 'impressionistic', emotional attitude is not very pronounced in the Nupe reproductions. It is scattered irregularly, and seems to correspond essentially to the specific emotional response in the story experiment, which we interpreted as the expression of an independent, secondary psychological trait among the Nupe.

VI. Conclusions

The experiments have shown us a people possessing a highly developed realistic image-art, drama, and a rich, complicated, rationalized religious system, which, in the field of psychological reaction, appears characterized by stress on rational elements and logical cohesion, and by a strongly pronounced meaning-oriented approach to observational data. On the other hand, a people whose culture possesses no such art or drama, whose

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

Y N 153 171

beliefs revolve round abstract, impersonal magical principles, proves psychologically of a very different type. It is more detached and inconsequent in observation and memory, enumerative, more sensitive to spatial and temporal arrangement, and stresses unity of situation and emotional tone rather than facts of meaning and rational consistency. The nature of this psychological differentiation clearly indicates that the experiments have done more than merely shown that a diversity in culture is accompanied by psychological differentiation; they prove the existence of an essential *correspondence* between the specific organization of the culture and the traits and dispositions which characterize the psychological make-up or 'type' of the group. Some aspects of this correspondence are quite evident and easily explained in terms of mutual interaction of culture data and psychological traits: for instance, the correspondence between the rationalized religious system of the Yoruba and their intentness on rational connexions and interpretations; or the correspondence between the ornamental, decorative art of the Nupe and their emphasis of spatial and symmetrical order. The nature of other aspects of this correspondence is less obvious, and can be interpreted only in the context of a detailed analysis of the whole culture: for instance, the correspondence between the impersonal, abstract religious system of the Nupe and their schematic, unspecific attitude to moral judgements.

Y N 18 153 171

The fact that we are dealing here with two groups which we had to contrast in various ways, may give the impression that I am attempting a dualistic theory of memory or perception, or for that matter, of culture. This is not my intention. Rather, the psychological traits and characteristics which the foregoing analysis has disclosed, seem to integrate themselves into *three* different 'types'—types which are distributed in different proportion among the two groups: first, the dominant type of the Yoruba, rational, logical and intent on meaning-oriented interpretation; second, the dominant type among the Nupe, combining an enumerative approach to observational data with stress on spatial and temporal arrangement; third, a less prominent, secondary, type among the Nupe, characterized by an emotional and 'impressionistic' disposition. Evidently, for a fuller understanding of these psychological types, the investigation must be placed on a broader basis, and our correlations of psychological traits extended over other fields of psychological reaction. But such an extension would go beyond the scope of this paper, in which I could only attempt to outline the general trend of this correspondence between psychological and cultural differentiation.

41:Nadel P,E-5 (1934-1936) 1937
FF62 Yoruba FF62
Nupe FF52

VII. SUMMARY

1. The aim of this investigation was to study, by means of the psychological field experiment, the correlation between diversity of culture and psychological differentiation.

2. Two primitive groups were studied, two tribes in Northern Nigeria which, living under similar conditions, yet show marked differences in their culture.

3. The experiments were carried out with school boys of the age of 15–18. The selection of the subjects, however, insured that the experimental groups were representative of the culture at large.

4. The experiments examined the repeated reproduction of a narrative, and the description and remembering of a number of pictures. Both the narrative and the pictures represented a material with which the experimental subjects were thoroughly familiar.

5. The results show a marked difference in the responses of the two groups. In the story experiment one tribe laid stress on logical and rational elements while the other showed distinct appreciation of situational facts and connexions of time and place. In the picture experiment the response of the first group was meaning-oriented, the response of the second enumerative and appreciative of spatial arrangement.

6. Between the cultural differentiation and the psychological differentiation there exists close correspondence. The dualism of culture and psychological responses is incidental; the investigation reveals in fact three different psychological 'types' distributed in different proportion among the two groups.

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